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The Caribbean Socrates: Pedro Henríquez Ureña and the Mexican *Ateneo de la Juventud*

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One of the most important Latin American intellectuals of the twentieth century, Pedro Henríquez Ureña (born in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic on 29 June 1884; died in Buenos Aires, Argentina, 11 May 1946) is typically known for his efforts in promoting a pan-Hispanic American cultural and literary identity.[1] Less known, however, is his role in re-introducing ancient Greek literature and thought across a region in which the Graeco-Roman classics were generally part of a forgotten colonial past.[2] The Dominican intellectual was a leading figure not only in the most prominent intellectual circles in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico,[3] but also in Argentina, where he spent last twenty years of his life teaching philology and literature at the University in La Plata, sharing a deep friendship with the young Jorge Luis Borges.[4] Though he repeatedly invoked Hellenic thought and literature in all these contexts for various ideological and political ends,[5] this chapter examines both his earliest and most intimate encounter with the ancient Greek world: the philhellenic

cultural programme that Henríquez Ureña spearheaded in the *Ateneo de la Juventud* (Youth Athenaeum) in Mexico City in 1907-1910, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution. I specifically focus on three activities, each extraordinary and 'extreme' in its own right: firstly, his undisputed role as the 'Socrates' of the *Ateneo*, presiding over lectures and discussions about the ancient Greek world; his engagement with Walter Pater and the English Victorian intellectual's notions of Hellenism, which led to the first (and still only) translation of Pater's *Greek Studies* in Spanish; and finally, his authorship of *El Nacimiento de Dionisos* (The Birth of Dionysus), perhaps the only example of a modern drama written in the imagined ancient style of Phrynichus the Athenian tragedian, whose work only survives in meagre fragments. I emphasise the manner in which Henríquez Ureña's Greek readings had a profound influence on members of the *Ateneo*, all of whom were active figures in the Mexican Revolution but additionally emerged as political, cultural and educational leaders in the new post-revolutionary nation. *Ateneístas* (men of the *Ateneo*) such as José Vasconcelos and Alfonso Reyes considered the grounding in the Greeks that Henríquez Ureña had provided an essential preparation for their fight against the intellectual complacency that pervaded Mexican life under the three-decade regime of Porfirio Díaz.

Operating at the margins of the Western world and in a region in which the Graeco-Roman classics were not part of an established educational tradition, Henríquez Ureña qualifies as an 'extreme' reader and promoter of the Graeco-Roman classics. As I contend, the Dominican intellectual not only facilitated a 're-discovery' of the ancient Greeks at a critical juncture in Mexican history, but he also encouraged fellow artists and writers to experiment with this material in order to produce and inspire a new literature for Latin America. The *Ateneístas*' brief engagement with ancient Greek ideas and literature ultimately led them to deploy their knowledge of

these ‘new’ ancient texts and ideas in contemporary ideological conflicts about the future of both Mexico and Latin America. In this manner, Henríquez Ureña’s introduction of ancient Greek and other European humanistic ideas in Mexico helped spark a revolution, radically altering the cultural, educational, and political life of a country which had been for several decades deeply entrenched in positivist thought. This ‘re-discovery’ of the Greeks in Mexico, and especially Henríquez Ureña’s insistence on their inclusion in what Nicola Miller calls the ‘social imaginary’ of Latin American modernity,[6] allow us to see the cultural potency that ancient Greek and Roman literature and culture can nonetheless wield in ‘marginal’ contexts, in which the Graeco-Roman classics have had a fragmentary afterlife as texts that did not form part of the general educational or cultural tradition. Despite Mexico’s physical distance from Western Europe, however, the *Ateneístas*’ ‘extreme’ fixation with the ancient Greeks tells a familiar story: elite and educated men who employed their knowledge of antiquity to bolster their own standing. The swift manner in which these educated men at the ‘periphery’ assumed ownership of European ancient texts raises questions regarding their presumed marginality. This case study reminds us that today’s scholars should exercise some caution in automatically assigning the label ‘extreme’ or ‘marginal’ to readers or audiences in a non-European context.

Socrates in Mexico

In early 1908, a group of young men in Mexico City decided to turn their collective attention to the study of ancient Greece. They proposed to spend the rest of that year and the bulk of many others reading the literature and philosophy of the classical Athenians in translation, meeting on a weekly basis in a seminar format, with

each member taking turns to study a particular aspect of ancient Greece and subsequently presenting his findings to the eager group.[7] They also planned readings of Greek texts and Hellenic-themed parties. Because of this sudden and intense engagement with the ancient Greeks, the group, which had been called *la Sociedad de Conferencias* (the Lecture Society) upon its founding in 1906, renamed itself *el Ateneo de la Juventud*, and later, *el Ateneo de México* (the Mexican Athenaeum). This was also no ordinary group of young intellectuals: virtually all the members, a list which included Alfonso Reyes, José Vasconcelos, and Pedro Henríquez Ureña, later took up crucial roles not only in Mexican political life after the Revolution but also in the most significant Latin American intellectual and literary circles of the twentieth century.[8] Later, these men would describe their time as *Ateneístas* as their 'halcyon days'.[9] Their leader and teacher, hailed as 'Socrates', was Pedro Henríquez Ureña, an intellectual from the Dominican Republic who had recently arrived in Mexico. In this section, I discuss the general Greek reading programme that he instituted, which would go on to have a major impact in Mexican educational and cultural life. I also examine the Hellenic mythology that the group cultivated for its own self-definition, paying particular attention to the manner in which the Dominican intellectual's leadership and guidance of this elite male scholarly circle was carefully cast in Greek terms.

Various accounts relate that the group, which had been initiated by Alfonso Caso as *la Sociedad de Conferencias*, became the *Ateneo* only after the arrival of Pedro Henríquez Ureña.[10] The young Dominican had arrived directly from Cuba after a stay in the United States, where he had been immersed in the cultural and artistic life of New York City, living in a guest house near Columbia University.[11] It appears that Henríquez Ureña persuaded the group to take up the Greeks as they were

currently in vogue in New York City: 'Greece is this year's fashion in the "commercial metropolis"' ('Grecia es la moda de este año en la "metrópoli comercial"').[12] Despite being aware of its popularity there, Henríquez Ureña admits to a general ignorance of ancient literature, which he claims rarely to have 'savoured'.[13] When his father, Francisco Henríquez y Carvajal, travels to the 1907 Hague Convention as the official delegate from the Dominican Republic,[14] Henríquez Ureña asks him to purchase numerous primary and secondary texts on ancient Greece in French and English, and to send them to him in Mexico:

> Los poemas homéricos, los hesiódicos, Esquilo, Sófocles, Euripides, los poetas bucólicos, en las traducciones de Leconte de Lisle; Platón, en francés; la Historia de la literatura griega de Otfried Müller, los estudios de Walter Pater (en inglés), los *Pensadores griegos* de Gomperz, la Historia de la filosofía europea de Alfred Weber, y algunas otras.[15]

> The poems of Homer and Hesiod, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, the bucolic poets, in the translations of Leconte de Lisle; Plato, in French; *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece* by Otfried Müller, the *Studies* of Walter Pater (in English), Gomperz's *Greek Thinkers*, Alfred Weber's *History of European Philosophy*, and some others.[16]

This selection of books reveals a concern with overcoming his ignorance and gaining a good foundation in the classical Greek poetic canon, with some attention being paid to Plato and the basics of Greek philosophy. Thanks to these and other books Henríquez Ureña and his colleagues procured from the United States and Europe,[17]

the *Ateneístas* hoped to institute a wide reading programme based on the Greeks, which similarly emphasised mastery of ancient Greek poetry and aspects of Plato:

> Hemos organizado al fin un programa de cuarenta lecturas que comprenden doce cantos épicos, seis tragedias, dos comedias, nueve diálogos, Hesíodo, himnos, odas, idilios y elegías, y otras cosas más, con sus correspondientes comentarios (Müller, Murray, Ouvré, Pater, Bréal, Ruskin, etc.) y lo vamos realizando por orden.[18]

> We finally organised a program of forty reading sessions which comprise twelve books of [Homeric] epic, six tragedies, two comedies, nine [Platonic] dialogues, Hesiod, hymns, odes, idylls and elegies, and many more things along with their corresponding commentaries (Müller, Murray, Ouvré, Pater, Bréal, Ruskin, etc.), and we are carrying them out in order.

As this reading list shows, the group's main aim was to acquire a general understanding of ancient Greek literature. Various accounts state that they gathered to read and discuss these texts so as to gain direct access to a literature that was until then fragmentary and otherwise inaccessible to them, previously only available through quotation in manuals or via invocations by modern authors (typically French).[19] In other words, unlike most post-Renaissance forms of Western European Hellenism, the *Ateneístas*' pursuit of Greece was not led by a nostalgic desire to recapture an ideal which was now lost.[20] Similarly, they do not seem to be aware of the modern association between the Greeks and what Daniel Orrells calls 'a civilized, civilizing, white masculinity'.[21] Their concern appears to have been simply to come to

general terms with a literature that continued to hold sway over the modern imagination in Europe and North America, without any regard to engage deeply with its historical context or material culture, or with any of the ideologies surrounding its implementation and impact in the modern world. The main aim in acquainting themselves with the Greeks appears to have been the acquisition of a global cultural capital.

Their reading programme had an immediate impact on Mexican cultural life. The famous monthly *Revista Moderna*, which was the primary means through which Hispanic modernism was disseminated across the country,[22] included Greek topics for the first time, such as a story by Jules Lemaître about the Trojan War and writings by Nietzsche, and most notably, published translations of the Greek essays of Walter Pater, one of the most important representatives of the aesthetic movement in Victorian England, by Pedro Henríquez Ureña.[23] The *Ateneístas* also began to publish and circulate various essays reflecting on both ancient Greek literature and its potent impact on European cultural life.[24] Typical of the latter is Henríquez Ureña's 1908 essay, *La moda griega* (The Greek fashion), which stresses the continuing importance of a classical Hellenism for modern literary tastes:

> No importa cuánto aparentemos intersarnos por la cuestión balkánica, lo que seduce al público literario, la moda no agotada aún, es la Grecia antigua...En este momento – puede observarlo quienquiera que siga, aunque sea de lejos y a prisa, el movimiento mundial –, los grandes autores que están de moda son Homero y Goethe. Shakespeare está sufriendo crisis; a Cervantes lo hemos olvidado, a pesar de las fiestas del *Quijote*; Dante apenas comienza a levantarse en una nueva aurora. Pero el legendario padre de la poesía europea

goza ahora de popularidad inusitada, como lo muestran los cuentos de Lemaître, el *Ulises* de Stephen Phillips, los estudios del insigne Bréal y de los no menos eruditos Terret y Bérard (entre otros tantos), y hasta el proyecto de erigirle un monumento en París. En los círculos de gentes leídas, la *Odisea* se comenta con fruición que no pudiera dar ninguna novela moderna y los epítetos homéricos son gala frecuente de la conversación: hasta en editoriales de periódicos norteamericanos se hacen reminiscencias de las *palabras aladas.* Ni es eso todo. Dentro de pocos meses, Sófocles será autor de tanta actualidad como Oscar Wilde, gracias a la música de Richard Strauss. Aristófanes inspira a comediógrafos alemanes. Platón anda ya en lenguas de los nuevos pensadores. La musa campestre, el arte hesiódico y el arte bucólico, reaparecen en D'Annunzio, en Guido Verana, en Francis James, en Abel Bonnard.[25]

It does not matter how much we pretend to be interested in the Balkan Question, what seduces the literary public, the fashion that still has not been exhausted, is ancient Greece… In this moment – anyone who follows, even if at a distance and at a glance, the global movement can observe it – the greatest authors that are in vogue are Homer and Goethe. Shakespeare is suffering a crisis; we have forgotten Cervantes, despite the *Quijote* celebrations[26]; Dante barely awakens in a new dawn. But the legendary father of European poetry now enjoys a rather unprecedented popularity, as the stories of Lemaître demonstrate, the *Ulysses* of Stephen Phillips, the studies of the illustrious Bréal and the no less erudite Terret and Bérard (amongst many), and even the business of erecting a monument for him in Paris. In well-read circles, the

> *Odyssey* is commented upon with a fruition that no other modern novel enjoys and the Homeric epithets are frequently the stars of the conversation: even the editorials of North American newspapers include evocations of these *winged words*. And that's not all. In a few months, Sophocles will be as fashionable a writer as Oscar Wilde, thanks to the music of Richard Strauss. Aristophanes inspires German comic writers. Plato is already in the tongues of the new thinkers. The country muse, the Hesiodic art, and the bucolic art reappear in D'Annunzio, in Guido Verana, in Francis James, in Abel Bonnard.

In such essays, the *Ateneístas* argue for both the importance and timelessness of the Greeks by pointing out the manner in which ancient texts have continually inspired various modern authors and writers across Europe. They appear to believe in the exemplary nature of Greek literature, in particular as inspiration for contemporary literature. Here, we see an idealised and superficial type of Hellenism that is not only defined by a handful of authors but one that is also powered by the symbolic importance that these same authors have wielded in modernity. Ultimately, behind these lengthy lists of contemporary European and North American authors who have dabbled in the Greeks is a general provocation to Latin American writers and artists to engage with these influential texts, perhaps in an effort to produce a new Latin American literature which would travel beyond the region to reach a more global audience. Several *Ateneístas* interpreted this aspirational element of the Greeks quite literally,[27] as among their early oeuvres are works that directly mimicked or evoked Greek texts: in 1908, Alfonso Reyes wrote a new satyr play entitled *Coro de sátiros en el bosque* (Chorus of Satyrs in the forest) as a set piece which accompanied Pedro Henríquez Ureña's new tragedy *The Birth of Dionysus,* which I discuss below, as well

as a new short story in direct imitation of Homer's *Odyssey* XIII, entitled 'Una Aventura de Ulises' ('An Adventure of Ulysses').[28] In 1923 he published *Ifigenia Cruel* (Cruel Iphigenia), a radical adaptation of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Tauri*s in which the heroine chooses not to leave Tauris.[29] In 1916 José Vasconcelos wrote a modern philosophical tragedy entitled *Prometeo Vencedor* (Prometheus Triumphant), which engages with Iamblichus' *Life of Pythagoras* as well as Schopenhauer and Wagner. More crucially, Vasconcelos would later name his famous 1935 autobiography *Ulises Criollo* (Creole Ulysses).[30]

Despite the fact that they only devoted one year to the in-depth study of the Greeks, the group thereafter cast and continually defined itself in Hellenic terms. Henríquez Ureña became the undisputed Socratic figure, though he was a few years older than many of his colleagues.[31] Alfonso Reyes elaborates on the apt identification of Henríquez Ureña with the Athenian thinker, in a discussion of the Dominican intellectual's pedagogy:

> En lo íntimo, era más honda, más total, la influencia socrática de Henríquez Ureña. Sin saberlo, enseñaba a ver, a oír, a pensar, y suscitaba una verdadera reforma en la cultura, pesando en su pequeño mundo con mil compromisos de laboriosidad y conciencia. Era, de todos, el único escritor formado, aunque no el de más años.[32]

> Deep down, the Socratic influence of Henríquez Ureña was more deep and more all-encompassing. Without knowing it, he taught [us] to see, to hear, to think, and he provoked a true reform in our culture, thinking in his small

> world with a thousand commitments of laboriousness and conscience. He was, of all of us, the only trained writer, though he was not the oldest.

Alfonso Reyes was in turn praised by Henríquez Ureña as the Mexican Plato in a 1907 essay '*Genus Platonis'*, an essay whose title is inspired by Walter Pater's 'The Genius of Plato'.[33] This essay, which was published in Mexico but also in the *Listín Diario* newspaper in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic,[34] traces the Platonic tradition in the West, paying particular attention to its 'manifestation' in Mexican literature. The latter part of the essay is essentially an extended praise of Alfonso Reyes, whom Henríquez Ureña declares to be a 'buen platónico' ('a good Platonist') with a *sophrosyne* and love of temperance similar to that of Charmides.[35] Throughout his own work, Alfonso Reyes similarly cultivated these Greek connections, presenting himself as the pupil of the Caribbean Socrates, as he cites Henríquez Ureña's general influence and impact on his work.[36] The 1911 publication of Reyes's *Cuestiones Estéticas* (Aesthetic Matters) in Paris contained a prologue by Peruvian writer Francisco García Calderón, which likewise continued to parrot these Hellenic terms. Not only does he repeatedly address Alfonso Reyes (who was only twenty-two at the time) as the Mexican ephebe ('efebo mexicano') but he also comments on the general Greek spirit of the *Ateneo* as a collective:

> Comentan estos jóvenes libremente todas las ideas, un día de las *Memorias* de Goethe, otro la arquitectura gótica, después la música de Strauss. Preside a sus escarceos, perdurable suggestión, el ideal griego. Conocen la Grecia artística y filosófica, y algo del espíritu platónico llega a la ciudad colonial donde un

> grupo ardiente escucha la música de ideales esferas y desempeña un magisterio armonioso.[37]
>
> These young men freely discuss all the ideas, one day the *Memories* of Goethe, another Gothic architecture, then the music of Strauss. Over their adventures presides the Greek ideal, an imperishable suggestion. They know the artistic and philosophic Greece, and something of the Platonic spirit arrives in the colonial city where an ardent group listens to the music of ideal spheres and discharges a harmonious education.

Simply possessing a generalised knowledge and basic command of material that was well beyond the reach of most Mexicans was enough to justify the notion of the 'Greek spirit' of the *Ateneo*, a notion which the group furthermore embraced as an essential part of its self-definition. Despite the connection with Plato and the evocations of the Greek symposium, the *Ateneo* was not concerned with engaging with modern male homosexuality, as Linda Dowling has argued to be the case in the Oxford classics of Walter Pater and Benjamin Jowett.[38] Rather, the group developed and encouraged a mythology based around its own perceived inherent 'Greekness'. This generalised Greek ideal, to which the group aspired and felt itself to embody, even begins to permeate their own conceptions of what the modern Latin American intellectual should be: in a 1916 lecture 'El movimiento intelectual contemporáneo de México' ('Mexico's contemporary intellectual movement') delivered in Peru, José Vasconcelos redefines the intellectual man in terms of Ulises.[39] Though the Greeks were part of a forgotten and arguably alien European past, their mere invocation in early twentieth century Latin America nevertheless conveyed both cultural weight and

legitimacy by the simple fact that they had historically wielded such power in the global North.

The Ateneo's fixation with the Greeks, however, is not just the case of budding and ambitious aesthetes in Mexico City, and their engagement significantly went beyond critiquing the culture of their times; the *Ateneo*'s Hellenism was a crucial harbinger of progressive educational policy. Their encounter with ancient Greek and European humanistic thinking encouraged the *Ateneístas* to question the edifices of contemporary Mexican society, which had become entrenched during the long regime of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911). Since the country's independence in 1821, the predominance of Auguste Comte's positivism in Mexico had generally banished the study of the humanities and philosophy in favour of scientific and technological subjects that would enable the country to progress swiftly in an industrialised world.[40] This myopic emphasis on the 'scientific' not only made Mexico impervious to modernism, which began in other Latin American countries as early as the mid-nineteenth century,[41] but also likely contributed to the long duration of Porfirio Díaz's dictatorship.[42] The prestigious Escuela Nacional Preparatoria (National Preparatory High School) mostly taught scientific subjects, to the detriment of humanistic and literary studies, so independent reading groups and lecture societies such as the *Ateneo* were essential for anyone seeking a more profound engagement with the humanities.[43] Various accounts about the *Ateneo* stress how the *Ateneístas*' contributions to Mexican intellectual and political life spurred on both the Mexican Revolution of 1915 and the modernization of the country for the first time since its independence from Spain.[44] Most notably, they became involved in the reformation of the Mexican National University as well as in wider educational debates advocating 'free thinking' for all social classes as a means to achieve progress in the twentieth

century.[45] Of course, this was a rather limited progressivism, largely driven by a group of educated and well-connected young men: at no point did they discuss the inclusion of women or other oppressed social or ethnic groups.

In this manner, attention to the ancient Greeks for the *Ateneístas* was therefore not a romantic nor nostalgic act: it was not a search for an aesthetically superior culture that would allow them either to escape their current time, or to uncover a lost part of their heritage. Rather, they believed that through an engagement with the forgotten Greeks and with this more universal humanistic thinking they could reform society, and in particular break the stranglehold that positivism and other forms of utilitarian thinking wielded over their country.[46] Through a commitment to Hellenic classicism, a legitimate and long-established manner of critiquing modernity in Europe, they saw an opportunity not only for achieving individual intellectual stimulation, but also for potentially liberating a whole generation of 'latino-americanos'. The *Ateneo*'s Hellenism was thus always progressive, never anchored in the distant and forgotten past, but always with a view of reforming the future.

Walter Pater, a 'critic-artist' for Latin America

In a December 1907 letter to his brother Max in Santo Domingo, Pedro Henríquez Ureña discusses the novelty that is 'Greece' to Latin America:

> La Grecia pesimista de Schopenhauer y Nietzsche, la serenísima de Walter Pater, la irónica y cumplidísima de Oscar Wilde, aparte de lo que sugiere leer las obras mismas, son puntos de vista muy nuevos en América.[47]

> The pessimistic Greece of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, the most serene [Greece] of Walter Pater, the ironic and most accomplished [Greece] of Oscar Wilde, besides the requirement to read the texts themselves, are very new points of view in [Latin] America.

This brief explanation, which also draws attention to competing notions of Hellenism, not only justifies the reading programme which Pedro would help establish in 1908 in a humanities-deprived Mexico City, as discussed in the previous section, but it additionally illustrates the intellectual's general engagement with contemporary European thinkers, whose works were generally difficult to access. Besides reading ancient Greek texts from Homer to Plato, then, the men of the *Ateneo* were additionally engaging with European criticism about the meaning and importance of Hellenism in modernity, much of which had not yet reached Latin America given its physical distance from Western Europe.[48] For Henríquez Ureña, these modern writings were furthermore crucial towards developing his own personal commitment to the Hellenic ideal; in his memoirs he cites Plato and Walter Pater as the two individuals responsible for his 'conversion' to Hellenism.[49] As this section will illustrate, Pater's notions of Hellas informed the *Ateneístas*' experience of the ancient Greeks and significantly deepened their engagement with the Greek ideal. I focus in particular on the influence that Walter Pater had on Pedro Henríquez Ureña, who produced as a matter of priority the first translation of the British intellectual's work in Spanish during his tenure as the *Ateneo*'s 'Socrates'.[50] His efforts to introduce recent foreign scholarship about Hellenism and the larger weight of the classical tradition to this 'marginal' context, in which such matters were not demonstrably relevant, are striking, complicating contemporary notions of 'centre' and 'periphery'.

Hellenism and a reassessment of ancient Greek texts were central to Walter Pater's aesthetic philosophy, as evidenced by the central place given to discussions of Greek material in his works, from his 1873 *The Renaissance* and his various essays on Greek myth (published throughout the 1870s and 1880s and later compiled in *Greek Studies*) and his book on *Plato and Platonism* (1893).[51] Prior to his arrival in Mexico, Henríquez Ureña seems to have been aware of Pater's significance as an aesthetic critic: his 1904 essay 'Tres Escritores Ingleses' ('Three English Writers'), which introduces the work of Oscar Wilde, Arthur Wing Pinero, and Bernard Shaw to a Spanish-speaking audience, cites Pater as one of the figures responsible for creating a revolutionary movement in England.[52] In another essay, he additionally identifies him as one of the most important British Hellenists.[53] Despite this general awareness of Pater's worth in English literary circles, it appears that the acquisition of Pater's *Greek Studies* after his father's trip to the 1907 Hague convention was Henríquez Ureña's first opportunity to read Pater's work.[54] Whether or not Henríquez Ureña had previously engaged with Pater, his encounter with *Greek Studies* was significant enough that he deemed Pater's essays worthy of immediate translation: between October 1908 and December 1909, his translations of all the essays in *Greek Studies* were serialised in the *Revista Moderna*, included as part of a general series of essays on forty ancient and modern authors.[55] They subsequently appeared as a single book in 1910.[56] This dissemination in parts could be interpreted as a choice to mirror the source text's original publication, since many of Pater's essays (such as those on Demeter and Dionysus) first appeared individually in *The Fortnightly Review*.[57] However, given the *Revista*'s importance as vehicle for the transmission of new ideas and its circulation in and beyond Mexico,[58] the decision to publish Pater's essays in this manner may have well served to emphasise their perceived importance and

relevance to a contemporary Latin American audience, as relatively new public scholarship on the ancient Greeks that should be made accessible to a wider readership.

Though Henríquez Ureña does not elaborate fully on why Pater merited inclusion in the *Revista Moderna's* list of forty ancient and modern authors, a small clue may be found in his translation of Pater's first essay on Dionysus ('Dionisos: Forma Espiritual del Fuego y del Rocío'). In this essay, the Dominican intellectual includes a preliminary and brief note that emphasises Pater's importance as a modern commentator on the Greek spirit:

> La obra cuya traducción ofrece desde hoy la *Revista Moderna* a sus lectores, es una de las más importantes entre todas las que en la literatura contemporánea se han consagrado a explicar el espíritu griego. Walter Pater…no es solo el más sorprendente estilista contemporáneo en lengua inglesa, sino también uno de las más profundos y sabios críticos-artistas modernos.[59]
>
> The work, whose translation the *Revista Moderna* offers today to its readers, is one of the most significant among those in contemporary literature which have devoted themselves to explain the Greek spirit. Walter Pater… is not only the most surprising contemporary stylist in the English language, but also one of the most profound and wise modern critic-artists.

Here, Henríquez Ureña presents Pater as a 'crítico-artista', a new breed of artistic and creative intellectual whose expertise was nevertheless both deep and wise. Evidence

of Pater's creativity and scholarly depth can be seen, for example, in his essay on Hippolytus, which quickly moves from an initial learned overview to a more imaginative retelling of the myth.[60] As the essay progresses, Pater increasingly inserts dramatic dialogue,[61] as well as passionate rhetorical questions and interjections.[62] In short, the essay quickly becomes a sort of a tragic retelling in prose. It is perhaps this same creativity which may have inspired Henríquez Ureña to write his own tragedy, also in prose, as we shall see in the next section. At a time when Latin American intellectuals were moving beyond the serious '*maestro*' label that figures such as José Martí and Rubén Darío were readily given in the late 19th century, to the '*intelectual comprometido*' of the 1920s who was politically and socially committed to the advancement of his country,[63] Henríquez Ureña became captivated with another possibility embodied in Walter Pater: a creative and artistic intellectual who could communicate his erudition more widely through more inventive means.

Henríquez Ureña's engagement with Pater crucially went beyond mere translation. Pater and his thoughts on Greece also figure throughout the Dominican's early work. As I mentioned above, his essay praising Alfonso Reyes, '*Genus Platonis*' is modeled on Pater's chapter 'The Genius of Plato' in *Plato and Platonism*.[64] In fact, Pater's *Plato and Platonism* appears to have guided the *Ateneistas'* experience of reading Plato. In *Ulises Criollo* José Vasconcelos recalls how this book served as essential commentary for the *Ateneístas* as they attempted to understand Plato.[65] The attraction to Pater's work on Plato as an instructional book may be seen as curious, especially given its immediate and current reception in Anglophone circles. In an introduction to a discussion of Pater's *Plato and Platonism* Richard Jenkyns writes that 'one of the invigorating characteristics of the Victorians is their ability to write spectacularly bad books.'[66] Though he cites the 'mannered and

muted style' of the book as evidence of some meticulousness on the part of Pater, Jenkyns ultimately dismisses the book, given that 'about Plato it tells us next to nothing.'[67] Nevertheless, the book probably appealed to the young men in Mexico by its unique focus on its intended youthful audience; Pater, according to Daniel Orrells, represents Plato and his philosophy 'as suspended within a youthful mode, both technical and philosophical, and an everyday concern troubling any young man'.[68] In his dismissal of Pater, Jenkyns likewise identifies a naïve and youthful aspect to Pater, whom he believes was in fact attracted to Plato as 'an artist and personality' rather than as a philosophical figure.[69] It is not difficult to see how to a young man, Walter Pater offered another attractive path of scholarly engagement, one more focused on artistic vision.

Among scholars of the classical Greek tradition Pater is widely known for casting a shadow over the Romantic tradition of Hellenism which, from Johann Winckelmann to Matthew Arnold, typically associated Greece with beauty and nobility.[70] Denis Donoghue situates Pater (along with Friedrich Nietzsche, James G. Frazer and Gilbert Murray) well within the revisionist group that interpreted Greece 'as the site of turbulence, ferocity, and sorrow, not merely of wisdom,'[71] and furthermore identifies him as *the* English writer 'who most eloquently expressed the revisionist view of Greece.'[72] Strangely, in Pedro Henríquez Ureña's writings and reflections about Pater, this conception of a scholar who exposed the strange and grotesque elements of Hellas is not at all evident. Instead, the Dominican intellectual paints a romantic portrait of Pater throughout his early work. In a passage on Matthew Arnold, for example, he writes how Pater's 'genuine critical temperance' must be preferred to Matthew Arnold's 'theorising whim':

> Así debemos preferir, al capricho teorizante de Matthew Arnold y de su familia innumerable, la genuina templanza crítica, hija verdadera del espíritu clásico, de Walter Pater, cuyo espejo purificador solo recoge las imágenes perfectas, limpias ya de sombras importunas.[73]
>
> Thus we must prefer to Matthew Arnold's theorising whim and his innumerable family, Walter Pater's genuine critical temperance, true daughter of the classical spirit, whose purifying mirror only captures perfect images, which are already clean from inopportune shadows.

Here, Henríquez Ureña praises Pater's seemingly flawless acumen in no uncertain terms, producing commentary that is more akin to hagiography than scholarship. Similarly, in an essay on Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo's engagement with English scholarly criticism ('La Inglaterra de Menéndez y Pelayo'), Henríquez Ureña cites the Spanish scholar's inability to understand Walter Pater in terms of cultic ignorance, as someone who has not been initiated into the church of Pater:

> Menos visible para el público, pero más caro a los *inciados*, Walter Pater, señor de un palacio hermético por perfección, por depuración incalculable, no por desdén alguno ni soberbia, representa, para mí, la más alta cima del arte de la apreciación literaria en Inglaterra. He aquí un espíritu clásico, sobre el que nunca se ciernen sombras.[74]
>
> Much less visible to the public, but more treasured to those who have been *initiated*, Walter, Pater, master of an impenetrable palace through its

> perfection, through its incalculable cleansing, not because of any disdain or arrogance, represents for me the highest peak of the art of literary appreciation in England. Here is a classical spirit, over whom shadows never hover.

Throughout this essay he denounces Spanish literary criticism in favour of Pater's more 'perfect' English scholarship. Elsewhere Henríquez Ureña cites Pater as the 'last Renaissance man'.[75] This obvious admiration and utter adoration for Pater even earned Henríquez Ureña enemies in Mexico, such as José Juan Tablada, who condemns him precisely for bringing the cult of Pater to Mexico:

> ¡Luego habrían de llegar aquellos trashumantes rastacueros de las letras que se tallaban diamantes para la corbata con el fondo del tintero de Menéndez y Pelayo, que predicaron la estricta imitación de Walter Pater olvidando sus aberraciones íntimas y que procedentes de oscuras regiones antillanas contiguas a los dominios del General Manigato y del Duque de la Mermelada, intentaron catequizar espiritualmente a la patria de Netzahualcoyotl, de Sor Juana Inés y de Ramón López Velarde![76]

> Later would arrive those migratory interlopers of literature who would engrave diamonds on a tie whose end was dipped in Menéndez y Pelayo's inkwell, who preached the strict imitation of Walter Pater, while forgetting his intimate aberrations, and who originating from dark regions in the Antilles next to the dominion of General Manigato and the Duke of the Marmalade, tried to catechise spiritually the fatherland of Netzahualcoyotl, of Sor Juana Inés and of Ramón López Velarde!

Despite the racially charged element in the condemnation, the statement nevertheless communicates Henríquez Ureña's obsession with Pater, which demanded a strict imitation of the Victorian thinker while conveniently forgetting his homosexuality. I have elsewhere discussed how Pater influenced Henríquez Ureña's notions of a utopic Latin American future grounded in Hellenism,[77] but what is fascinating here is the manner in which Henríquez Ureña's continual presentation of an idealised and romanticised Pater is ultimately based on a superficial understanding of his works and convenient disregard of the English intellectual's life.

Though he does not figure as frequently, Pater continues to be important in Henríquez Ureña's later writings. Arcadio Díaz-Quiñones points out how Henríquez Ureña's most famous work in English, *Literary Currents in Hispanic America*, based on his Charles Norton Eliot Lectures at Harvard University in 1940-1941, concludes with a Pater-esque evocation of harmony between the past and present, and that additionally the Spanish translation of these lectures is written in a language that is reminiscent of his own translation of Pater's *Greek Studies*.[78] It is clear, then, that Pater not only left a deep impression on Henríquez Ureña but also deepened his own engagement and understanding of the ancient Greek world. Nevertheless, it is most curious that, despite extensively translating his essays, Henríquez Ureña's own conception of Pater remained grounded in the superficial, as the Dominican continually promoted an idealistic vision of Pater as the 'perfect' intellectual while steering clear from the controversial aspects of both his work and personality.

Restoring Absence: Phrynicus Tragicus and *El Nacimiento de Dionisos*

In translating Pater into Spanish, Pedro Henríquez Ureña not only makes recent public scholarship about the ancient Greek world accessible for the first time to a Latin American audience, but he also presents the English thinker's work as an example of the creative scholarship that can be produced by modern intellectuals. This notion of a thinker who is able to combine the academic and creative was an important model for Henríquez Ureña, whose engagements with the Greek world went beyond the scholarly realm and into the imaginative. As we shall see in this section, during his tenure as the 'Socrates' of the Mexican *Ateneo*, he also wrote a new ancient Greek play, *El Nacimiento de Dionisos* (The Birth of Dionysus). As I briefly discussed above, the creation of this play can be partly seen as a general challenge for Latin American writers to engage with classical Greek literature in the same manner as their European contemporaries. The play, however, is one of the earliest engagements with ancient Greek theatre in Latin America,[79] along with Alfonso Reyes' *El Coro de Sátiros,* two plays which were furthermore composed for a special Hellenic-themed Christmas party that celebrated the *Ateneo*'s year of studying the Greeks.[80] Crucially, *El Nacimiento de Dionisos* had a wider reach beyond Mexico: not only was it published in the January 1909 issue of *Revista Moderna* but it also appeared as a standalone monograph in New York in 1916.[81] Moreover, unlike all future engagements with Greek tragedy across the region, such as Virgilio Piñera's *Electra Garrigó* or Griselda Gambaro's *Antígona Furiosa*,[82] this work was not an adaptation of a surviving tragic play, but rather an original creation that staged a new plot that is not otherwise treated in the extant corpus of Greek tragedy: the birth of the god Dionysus. The tragedy is additionally exceptional in that the chorus dominates the play: its five episodes consist of interactions between the chorus and a single actor. In creating such a unique and imaginative 'new' tragedy,

Henríquez Ureña had a revolutionary aim: to imitate a style even more ancient than that of Aeschylus, namely that of the tragedian Phrynichus. *El Nacimiento* therefore attempts to recreate not only an older and lost tragic tradition, but also the origins of Greek tragedy itself. Despite being the region's first radical experimentation with ancient Greek tragedy, this play is neglected amongst the larger œuvre of Pedro Henríquez Ureña given its perceived mimetic and academic nature,[83] an assumption that is most likely based on the fact that unlike his other works the play does not contain any reference or discussion of any linguistic, social, historical or political realities. It is my aim in this section to provide a much-needed reassessment of this rather neglected piece. I contend that the play should be seen not as a simple academic exercise but rather as an innovative artistic adaptation, an 'extreme' tragedy, which, though written in prose, showcases a provocative way of engaging with ancient material that is otherwise utterly lost. My discussion is centred on Henríquez Ureña's reconstruction of the poeticity of the ancient text and its chorus. Given the dominance of the origins of early Greek tragedy in international tragic scholarship of the early twentieth century,[84] I argue that with *El Nacimiento* Henríquez Ureña provides a creative answer to the problematic question of the early nature of classical Athenian drama.

El Nacimiento emerged as a direct result of the *Ateneo*'s Greek reading programme discussed above: Henríquez Ureña premiered his dramatic text at the *Ateneo*'s 1908 Christmas party.[85] After spending several months reading Greek texts, the young men of the *Ateneo* aptly chose to spend their Christmas honouring the birth of Dionysus with original compositions dedicated to him, a new tragedy by Henríquez Ureña and a satyr play by Alfonso Reyes. The play, which dramatizes the birth of Dionysus, consists of five *episodes* and four *stasima*, and opens and ends with the

chorus who sing an additional *parodos* and *exodos*. Though all episodes stage the interaction between the chorus and a single actor, Henríquez Ureña included a large cast of mortals and immortals: Semele, Hermes, Cadmus, Iris and Dionysus appear in each respective *episode*, in dialogue with the chorus. The play steadily charts the birth of the young god, with each *episode* focused around one stage of the myth: after Semele announces her pregnancy to the chorus, Hermes appears to inform the collective of her death, which is followed by a *kommos* scene in which Cadmus learns of his daughter's passing; the final two *episodes* turn to the birth of the young god, consisting of an announcement by Iris and an epiphany by Dionysus.[86] It is not clear what motivated the Dominican intellectual to engage with Phrynichus, or even whether he knew much beyond the fact that the ancient tragedian preceded Aeschylus.[87] The choice of Dionysus as subject, however, is more evident, given the party's aim to celebrate the god. The thoughts of Walter Pater, who is cited as an inspiration in the 'justification' which accompanied both published versions of the play,[88] may have additionally played a role; his essay 'A Study of Dionysus: The Spiritual Form of Fire and Dew' (which Henríquez Ureña translated, as discussed above) contains the following dramatic account of the myth of Semele:

> Semele, an old Greek word, as it seems, for the surface of the earth, the daughter of Cadmus, beloved by Zeus, desires to see her lover in the glory with which he is seen by the immortal Hera. He appears to her in lightning. But the mortal may not behold him and live. Semele gives premature birth to the child Dionysus; whom, to preserve it from the jealousy of Hera, Zeus hides in a part of his thigh, the child returning into the loins of its father, whence in due time it is born again. Yet in this fantastic story, hardly less than in the

> legend of Ariadne, the story of Dionysus has become a story of human persons, with human fortunes, and even more intimately human appeal to sympathy.[89]

This appeal to 'humanise' Dionysus may have thus proved compelling. Indeed, this was likewise the case in fifth-century Athens: Aeschylus, for instance, wrote a (now lost) play centred around Semele's pregnancy.[90] Though it is not known whether Henríquez Ureña knew about this early play (and consequently decided to write an earlier version of it), he was certainly aware of Euripides' *Bacchae*, which is an important source text for this 'new' ancient tragedy.[91] In fact, both Semele's and Dionysus' first word in their respective episodes is 'vengo' ('I come'), which directly corresponds to the god's first word in *Bacchae*, Ἥκω.[92] In this manner, *El Nacimiento de Dionisos* offers a tantalising preface to Euripides' tragedy. One might therefore assume that Henríquez Ureña was potentially tempted by the vision of producing a version of Greek tragedy that both begins and ends with Dionysus; that is, he creates a dramatic text that not only recalls the archaic origins of tragedy through imitation of Phrynichus but also looks forward to one of the latest plays in the extant tragic corpus, Euripides' *Bacchae*.[93]

Henríquez Ureña did not wish merely to reinvent Greek tragedy in modernity, but also to revitalise it by imitating the ancient style of Phrynichus. In creating such a 'belated' tragedy that nevertheless follows an ancient style, Henríquez Ureña is aware that the success of such a drama hinges on two issues: its poeticity and chorus. Regarding the crucial matter of the new play's poetic correspondence to its ancient counterpart, he openly acknowledges that the metre of the original plays is impossible to replicate in Spanish, thus explaining his choice of prose composition:

> Si este ensayo en un género esencialmente poético no está escrito en verso, débese a la dificultad de emplear metros castellanos que sugieran las formas poéticas de los griegos. He preferido la prosa, ateniéndome al ejemplo de muchos insignes traductores de las tragedias clásicas, uno de ellos no menor poeta que Leconte de Lisle. Con relación a las estrofas, antístrofas y epodos, debo recordar, a quienes juzguen absurdas las estrofas en prosa, que estas palabras significaban originariamente los movimientos del coro.
>
> If this attempt, in a genre that is essentially poetic, is not written in verse, it is due to the difficulty of employing Castilian metres that suggest the poetic forms of the Greeks. I have preferred prose, following the example of many illustrious translators of classical tragedies, one of them no lesser a poet than Leconte de Lisle. With relation to the strophes, antistrophes and epodes, I must remember, that those who judge absurd strophes in prose, that these words originally signified the movements of the chorus.

This declaration of failure by a great metrician like Henríquez Ureña, who would later publish some of the most important metrical studies in Spanish,[94] might distract us from the judicious solutions that he offers throughout *El Nacimiento* in order to retain and translate some of the poetic elements of ancient Greek tragedy. Instead of academically translating the original metres into their closest equivalent in Spanish verse, Henríquez Ureña employs a type of poetic prose as a solution, that is, a prose that consciously makes an effort to evoke verse. Each character, for example, is

addressed with various epithets, as the following selections from the *parodos* illustrate:

> Cadmo matador del dragón, inventor de los gráficos signos, fundador de Tebas la de las siete puertas, maestro de las artes pacíficas y las industrias de la guerra.
>
> Cadmus, killer of the dragon, inventor of the graphic signs, founder of seven-gated Thebes, master of the pacific arts and the industries of war.

> Semele, la de espesa caballera
>
> Semele, the thick-haired.

> Atenea, protectora de las ciudades
>
> Athena, protectress of cities.[95]

This is a rhythmic and concise prose, which mimics classical poetry, partly inspired by the translations of Greek by Leconte de Lisle which Henríquez Ureña had read. Similarly, though the he is additionally aware of the impossibility of replicating the ancient Greek chorus, he nevertheless carefully inserts certain aspects that reproduce some of its rhythms. Though he discusses choral strophes and antistrophes as simple markers of movement in the preface to the play,[96] his *stasima* nevertheless mimic certain elements found in the extant choral odes of Aeschylus and Euripides, such as their form and the role of repetition. His *parodos*, albeit in prose, is modelled after many lengthy and complex *parodoi* such as that of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: it begins with an introductory part that is similar to anapestic openings found in the ancient

texts followed by five pairs of strophes, the third of which includes an epode. This *parodos* moreover opens the play, as in Aeschylus' *Persians* and *Suppliant Women*, giving it the form of early extant Greek tragedy. Similarly, the scene of *kommos* with Cadmus that forms the third episode has a strophic form and is guided by the ritual gestures which typically associated with mourning, such as beating the chest and tearing the hair.[97] Henríquez Ureña has additionally considered the role of ritual cries in extant odes and the forceful impact produced by their repetition: both the strophe and antistrophe of the *parodos*' third strophic pair end with a direct translation of a repeated cry from the parodos of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: 'Cantemos Ailino, Ailino, pero que venza al fin la buena fortuna' (Sing Ailinus, Ailinus, but let the good prevail),[98] and the exodos is peppered with repeated cries of '*io*' and '*evohé*'.[99] This sense of repetition and echo is crucial in the creation of a chorus: as Andrew Ford has pointed out, the echo is fundamental for transforming an otherwise simple word or phrase into a musical art.[100] By mimicking both the form and repetitive nature of ancient choral odes into his prose tragedy, Henríquez Ureña manages to preserve the musical and ritual function of a Greek chorus.

Though my focus on this section has thus far emphasised the manner in which Henríquez Ureña's artistic prose engages with Ancient Greek tragic forms and metrics, it is worth considering whether there is a larger meaning to this play beyond what I have argued here, namely, that *El Nacimiento* provides a creative and erudite account of the myth of Dionysus, an intellectual showpiece of sorts. Crucially missing from my discussion is its potential connection to Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*, and whether the play, particularly its title, may be a response to Nietzsche or his philosophy. Nietzsche does not figure prominently in Henríquez Ureña's early work: the philosopher features only tangentially in a few essays, typically in holistic

considerations of his philosophy and always in comparison to other European thinkers.[101] Nowhere does Henríquez Ureña expressly cite or discuss *The Birth of Tragedy*; though it is worth noting that he mentions that in 1908 Antonio Caso gave a lecture during which he presented a thorough summary of Nietzsche's philosophy to the members of the *Ateneo*.[102] In 1909, Henríquez Ureña would publish a brief essay in *Revista Moderna* entitled 'Nietzsche and Pragmatism' ('Nietzsche y el pragmatismo') which contains a series of extended quotes from *Gay Science* with no discussion.[103] It is therefore difficult to ascribe any deeper meaning to the play, particularly since it was written as a piece to be read specifically to the *Ateneístas* upon the conclusion of their year reading the Greeks. It was later circulated more widely, but once again to an erudite audience, the Latin American readership of *Revista Moderna*. Indeed, its immediate reception corroborates my reading of the play as a clever work of art. Weeks after its premiere at the *Ateneo*'s Christmas party, Henríquez Ureña wrote a letter to Alfonso Reyes recommending him additional reading on the Greek chorus, scholarship that was precisely related to the question of the origins of ancient Greek tragedy.[104] The Uruguayan essayist José Enrique Rodó, one of the most significant Latin American literary figures of the time, praises it as not only one of Henríquez Ureña's best works, but also as 'one of the most beautiful things of the new Hispanic-American literature'.[106] In neither case is the play connected to deeper philosophical or cultural arguments related to the implications or applications of Hellenism in modernity. Crucially, the Dominican intellectual had wider ambitions beyond Latin America: he sent a signed and dedicated copy of the 1916 published version to Gilbert Murray, a copy which is currently in circulation at the British Library.[107] It is unclear what he was aiming to achieve by sending this to Murray; perhaps it was simply a desire to be acknowledged by a scholar of

international repute. Henríquez Ureña not only acquired a sound knowledge of international intellectual trends that were geographically and conceptually distant, but he also took 'extreme' steps to becomes part of the global 'Hellenic' intellectual community through his unique and creative engagement with Greek tragedy's early and lost form.[108] In many ways, the fact that Henríquez Ureña unapologetically inserts himself into classical scholarly production with such ease, despite his geographical distance, raises questions regarding the assumptions inherent to the 'in extremis' model. Should well-educated, well-travelled, and superbly connected individuals such as Henríquez Ureña be considered 'outsiders' or 'extreme' readers, simply because they did not reside or primarily operate in a North American or northern European location?

What is instead 'extreme' is his novel manner of engaging with absent classical texts. In an article on the Renaissance reception of Ennius, who likewise survives in scant fragmentary form, Nora Goldschmidt recounts a few cases involving scholars and writers who exploited his 'textual absence' by producing creative forgeries.[109] As she discusses, Ennius' absence in a sense invites invention and imagination, and this creativity is indeed what we can see with Henríquez Ureña's *El Nacimiento*. In a play that attempts to copy an absent text which does not exist, precisely through imitation of the traces of texts that do survive, Henríquez Ureña may be also seen as posing various important questions about the afterlife of classical texts and particularly whether they can be reconstructed in modernity. It is no coincidence that his manner of radically engaging with the Greeks later inspired future Latin American treatments of Athenian drama, many of which likewise experimented creatively with ancient Greek myth, as can be seen most notably in Alfonso Reyes' *Ifigenia Cruel*.

Nicola Miller argues that Latin American revolutions have 'tended not to repudiate the past, as happened in France and Soviet Russia, but instead, to stake a claim to transcendent continuity based on creative assimilation of the past'.[110] What is remarkable with the *Ateneo* is that these intellectuals are invoking a fragmented and forgotten European past during a significant time in modern Mexican history, a past which furthermore carried significant cultural weight around the world. This cultural weight mattered: many of the *Ateneístas* would later continue to champion artistic and aesthetic values as necessary for societal and individual progress, and ancient Greece continued to serve as an important ideological rallying point. Their passionate Hellenism was not based on obtaining a passport to high culture, but rather on the potential of ancient Greek culture to change their present and shape the future. This had important implications for the literature of Spanish Latin America, which until the twentieth century remained grounded in Spanish and French works.[111] Henríquez Ureña's insistence on the Greeks could therefore be seen as an appeal to reformulate the conception and tradition of the 'classics' in Latin America. In this chapter I have charted the complex ways in which Henríquez Ureña engages with ancient Greece and its complicated legacy during his tenure in the *Ateneo*; what is particularly striking here is the extreme manner that even in these short years his understanding of Ancient Greece develops and deepens. Indeed the three sections of this chapter map Henríquez Ureña's increasingly sophisticated negotiation with conceptions of ancient Greece, particularly the manner in which he swiftly moves from acquiring a general knowledge of a known global literary status symbol to engaging both creatively and easily with the intricacies of the early forms and metrics of Greek tragedy. As I additionally highlight, his comfort in handling this European material belies any presumed status of 'extreme' reader that one might wish to apply to him simply

because of his geographical distance and 'peripheral' location. Moving to the periphery in this fashion helps us to rethink the category 'extreme' and interrogate the ease in which those of us in the 'centre' are happy to adopt such labels.

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[1] I am grateful to Maya Feile Tomes and Daniel Orrells, whose insightful comments improved an earlier version of this chapter. According to A. Díaz Quiñones, 'Pedro Henríquez Ureña y las tradiciones intelectuales caribeñas,' Letral 1 (2008): 64, Henríquez Ureña was 'the grand architect of the modern conception of Hispanic-American culture.'

[2] Graeco-Roman classical texts and learning, though present in colonial times in both the justification of the conquest of the Americas and in descriptions of the 'new' world by the European colonisers (A. Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992) and D. Lupher, *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), were obscured in the intervening centuries, having been mostly available to a few educated elite and typically religious men of Spanish descent (A. Laird, 'El patrimonio mexicano y la ideología en la cultura clásica del siglo XVI', in *Actualidad de los clásicos: III congreso de filología y tradición clásicas "Vicentina Antuna" in memoriam*, ed. E. Miranda Cancela and G. Herrera Díaz (La Habana: Editorial UH, 2010): 54-60; A. Laird, 'Patriotism and the rise of Latin in eighteenth-century New Spain: Disputes of the New World and the Jesuit construction of a Mexican legacy', *Renaessanceforum* 8 (2012): 231-62). In particular the banishment of the scholarly Jesuit order by the Catholic church in 1767 from the entire region created a vacuum in European classical and Humanist learning in an already fragmented educational system, especially with regards to ancient Greek

language and literature; as Korenjak (M. Korenjak, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur: vom Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2016), 93-4) writes, 'die Vertreibung der Jesuiten aus den portugiesichen und spanischen Territorien 1751 bzw. 1767 stellte dann... einen Schlag dar, von dem sich die süd- und mittelamerikanische Latinität nie mehr erholen sollte'. See also I. Osorio Romero, *Colegios y profesores jesuitas que enseñaron latín en Nueva España (1572-1767)* (México: UNAM, 1979); M. Tietz & D. Briesemeister, D. (ed.), *Los jesuitas españoles expulsos: su imagen y su contribución al saber sobre el mundo hispánico en la Europa del siglo XVIII* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert / Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2001); U. Baldini & G. P. Brizzi (ed.), *La presenza in Italia dei gesuiti iberici espulsi: aspetti religiosi, politici, culturali* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2010).

[3] Pedro Henríquez Ureña also lived and worked in Spain and the United States (Minnesota, New York and Washington DC), where he was similarly immersed in various intellectual and academic groups; see A. Roggiano, *Pedro Henríquez Ureña en los Estados Unidos* (Mexico: Casa Editorial Cultura, 1961).

[4] On Borges' classicisms, see L. Jansen, *Borges' Classics: Global Encounters with the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), and Jansen's chapter in this volume.

[5] See, e.g., R. Andújar, 'Pedro Henríquez Ureña's Hellenism and the American Utopia', in *Antiquities and Classical Traditions in Latin America*, ed. A. Laird and N. Miller, *Bulletin of Latin American Research* Book Series (New Jersey: Wiley, forthcoming), on Henríquez Ureña's the role of Hellenism in achieving a pan-Latin American utopia, and D. Padilla-Peralta, 'Classical pasts in Caribbean presents: The politics of reception in Santo Domingo', in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Political Theory*, ed. L. Jenco, M. Idris & M. Thomas (Oxford: Oxford University

Press, forthcoming), on the intellectual's claims of Santo Domingo as a 'New World Athens'.

[6] N. Miller, *Reinventing Modernity in Latin America: Intellectuals Imagine the Future, 1900-1930* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 5. The term 'social imaginary' belongs to C. Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

[7] P. Henríquez Ureña, *Estudios Mexicanos*, ed. J. L. Martínez (México D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004): 266-7 = P. Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 6: 1911-1920*, ed. M. Mena (vol.3) (Santo Domingo: Cielonaranja, 2014): 321.

[8] It is an undisputed fact that intellectual and political life in Mexico begins with the *Ateneo*, which played an important role in the Mexican Revolution and in opposing the oppressive government of Porfirio Díaz, cf. A. Roggiano, *Pedro Henríquez Ureña en México* (México: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1989) and F. Curiel, *La revuelta: interpretación del Ateneo de la Juventud, 1906-1929* (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México: México D. F., 1998). Prominent *Ateneístas* included Antonio Caso, who became rector of the Mexican National University, José Vasconcelos, who would become the Mexican Secretary of Education and later unsuccessful presidential candidate, and Alfonso Reyes, the future Mexican ambassador to France and Brazil and founder of the prestigious Colegio de México.

[9] Henríquez Ureña, *Estudios Mexicanos*, 249-50 = P. Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 2: 1899-1910*, ed. M. Mena (vol.1) (Santo Domingo: Cielonaranja, 2014): 73-4.

[10] P. Henríquez Ureña, *Memorias, Diario*, ed. E. Zuleta (Alavarez, Buenos Aires: Academia Argentina de Letras, 1989): 140; J. Vasconcelos, *Ulises criollo*, ed. C. Fell (Nanterre, France: ALLCA XX, 2000): 265.

[11] D. Méndez, 'Culture and the City: Pedro Henríquez Ureña's New York City', *Camino Real* 3.4 (2011): 143-168.

[12] Letter to Alfonso Reyes dated 31 January 1908, in P. Henríquez Ureña & A. Reyes, *Epistolario Íntimo (1906-1946)* (vol.1) (Santo Domingo: Universidad Nacional Pedro Henríquez Ureña, 1981), 37. The letter mentions upcoming theatre shows in New York City including a production of Sophocles' *Electra* with Mrs. Beerbohm Tree (the wife of the director of His Majesty's Theatre in London) as Clytemnestra in the Garden Theatre (cf. *New York Times*, 3 February 1908: 9, with the headline 'MRS. BEERBOHM TREE GLAD TO ACT HERE'). See also A. García Morales, *El Ateneo de México (1906-1914): orígenes de la cultura Mexicana contemporánea* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1992): 90.

[13] P. Henríquez Ureña, *Memorias, Diario*, ed. E. Zuleta (Alavarez, Buenos Aires: Academia Argentina de Letras, 1989), 140: 'rara vez llegué a saborearla'. He contrasts his scant knowledge of ancient literature to his grounding in modern (European, North- and South- American) literature.

[14] His father was a career diplomat and later became president of the Dominican Republic.

[15] Henríquez Ureña, *Memorias*, 140.

[16] All translations from the Spanish are my own.

[17] Henríquez Ureña, *Memorias*, 140 reports that had had access to an extensive bibliography about Greece, and so ordered additional books by writers such as

Goethe, Schiller, Hegel, Schopenahuer, Matthew Arnold, Ruskin, Gilbert Murray and Oscar Wilde.

[18] Henríquez Ureña and Reyes, *Epistolario Íntimo*, 37. On 38 he names the Platonic dialogues which they read in addition to the *Republic* and the *Laws*: *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, *Parmenides*, *Timaeus*, *Theaetetus*, and *Critias*.

[19] García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 92 cites José Vasconcelos on this topic: 'Se puede caracterizar lo que nos separó, en el *Ateneo*, del pasado literario inmediato, simplemente en esto: privaba con anterioridad a nosotros el hábito de las citas incompletas y vagas derivadas de lecturas de segunda mano. Restauramos nosotros, por reacción instintiva, la práctica de acudir a las fuentes. Se usaba poco antes de nosotros citar a los griegos, a través de Hugo de Saint Víctor —la moda del momento—, o a través de manuales y compendios, y nosotros nos dedicamos a la sencillísima tarea de leer a Platón directamente en la traducción inglesa de Jewet [*sic*] o en la francesa de Victor Cousin.'

[20] Cf. C. Martindale, 'Reception – a new humanism? Receptivity, pedagogy, the transhistorical', *Classical Receptions Journal* 5.2 (2013): 174-5.

[21] D. Orrells, *Classical Culture and Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 97. F. M. Turner, 'Why the Greeks and not the Romans?', in *Rediscovering Hellenism: The Hellenic Inheritance and the English Imagination*, ed. G. W. Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 63-4, points out that in nineteenth century England the civil service examinations favoured those who had training in the ancient languages; see also D. Orrells, 'Pater and Nettleship: A Platonic Education and the Politics of Disciplinarity', in *Pater the Classicist*, ed. C. Martindale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017): 293-4.

[22] J. Rea Spell, J 'Mexican Literary Periodicals of the Twentieth Century', *PMLA* 54.3 (1939): 835-852 and A. Pineda Franco, *Geopolíticas de la cultura finisecular en Buenos Aires, París y México: las revistas literarias y el modernismo* (Pittsburgh, PA: Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, 2006): 105-128.

[23] García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 95. Pedro Henríquez Ureña would go on to publish the first (and only) Spanish translation of Pater's *Greek Studies*; see below.

[24] Reyes' essay 'Las tres Electras del teatro ateniense' ('the Three Electras of Athenian theatre'; A. Reyes, *Cuestiones Estéticas* (Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, 2012): 35-70), which was dedicated to Henríquez Ureña, offers a reading of Greek tragedy that connects human sufferings with the cosmic forces of nature. See F. Barrenechea, 'Greek Drama in Mexico', in K. Bosher, F. Macintosh, J. McConnell & P. Rankine (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Greek Drama in the Americas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 259.

[25] Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 2*, 210-11.

[26] These feasts presumably refer to the 300th anniversary of the publication of Cervantes' novel (1605).

[27] The idea of Greece as site of aspiration is most likely indebted to Walter Pater's vision of Greece, which I discuss in the next section cf. S. Evangelista, *British Aestheticism and Ancient Greece: Hellenism, Reception, Gods in Exile* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 4: 'Ancient Greece is not a cultural ideal to recreate but rather to "aspire to".'

[28] A. Reyes, *Varia, Obras Completas* (vol.1) (Mexico: Col. Letras Mexicanas, 1955), 325-34. Reyes later translated nine books of the *Iliad* under the title *Aquiles agraviado (Aggrieved Achilles)*; see L.A. Guichard, 'Notas sobre la versión de la *Ilíada* de Alfonso Reyes', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 52.2 (2004): 409-47.

[29] F. Barrenechea, 'At the Feet of the Gods: Myth, Tragedy, and Redemption in Alfonso Reyes's *Ifigenia cruel*', *Romance Quarterly* 59 (2012): 6-18.

[30] C. Fell, *José Vasconcelos: los años del águila, 1920-1925: educación, cultura e iberoamericanismo en el México postrevolucionario* (Mexico D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, 1989): 464-6; A. Laird, 'The Cosmic Race and a Heap of Broken Images: Mexico's Classical Past and the Modern Creole Imagination', in *Classics and National Cultures*, ed. S. Stephens and P. Vasunia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 175-6.

[31] See, e.g., M. Henríquez Ureña, *Hermano y maestro* (Santo Domingo: Librería dominicana, 1950), 37; A. Reyes, 'Encuentros con Pedro Henríquez Ureña', *Revista Ibero-americana* 41-42 (Enero-Diciembre 1956): 55; A. Reyes, 'Evocación de Pedro Henríquez Ureña', in *Obras completas* (vol.12) (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1960, 164-5; Vasconcelos, *Ulises criollo*, 267 and 310. Cf. García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 84, footnote 28.

[32] A. Reyes, *Pasado Inmediato y otros ensayos* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1941), 44; also quoted in E. Zuleta Álvarez, *Pedro Henríquez Ureña y su tiempo: vida de un Hispanoamericano universal* (Capital Federal [Buenos Aires]: Catálogos, 1997), 56.

[33] Reyes was also given the nickname Euforión; see García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 84 and S. Quintanilla, 'Dioniso en México o cómo leyeron nuestros clásicos a los clásicos griegos', *Historia Mexicana* 51.3 (Jan.-Mar 2002): 652.

[34] The essay was published in full in Santo Domingo and only partially in Mexico; see Roggiano, *Pedro Henríquez Ureña en México*, 70 and Quintanilla, 'Dioniso', 635

[35] Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 2*, 389-904: 'Alfonso Reyes, como buen platónico, es hombre de escuela, y si el público lo conoce en ese aspecto, es porque su

amor a la templanza – tan temprano en él como en el Carmides de los diálogos – le ha despertado el afán de corrección, de perfeccionamiento constante, y le ha dotado de la prudencia necesaria.' Cf. E. Miranda Cancela, 'La "Minúscula Grecia" de Alfonso Reyes' in *Fragmentos de una confesión general: Lecturas Alfonsinas*, ed. L. Cantú Ortíz (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, 2009)*:* 63-76.

[36] See, e.g., his quote in García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 85: 'un día Pedro Henríquez Ureña… me aconsejó someterme con mayor frecuencia a las disciplinas de la prosa, como parte de mi aprendizaje y para habituarme a buscar la forma de mis expresiones no exclusivamente poética.'

[37] Reyes, *Cuestiones Estéticas*, 31.

[38] L. Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994). Nor was Henríquez Ureña's association with Socrates informed by Evangelista's notion (S. Evangelista, 'Platonic Dons, Adolescent Bodies: Benjamin Jowett, John Addington Symonds, Walter Pater', in *Children and Sexuality: From the Greeks to the Great War*, ed. G. Rousseau (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 206-236) of a 'Platonic Don' based around the relationship between an older man and a youth.

[39] J. P. Gay, 'De Ulises al hijo pródigo: un proceso de sustitución en la literatura mexicana hacia 1920', *Tropelías. Revista de la Teoría de la Literatura y Literatura Comparada* 23 (2015): 382.

[40] García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 3. Though the Mexican university did offer some instruction in European and Spanish classical literature prior to independence, the reforms of José María Luis Mora and Valentín de Gómez Farías prioritised the teaching of sciences, with only one professorship devoted to both ancient and modern history; see J. L. Martínez, 'México en busca de su expresión', in *Historia General de*

México, ed. B. García Martínez et al. (vol. 3) (2nd ed.) (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico, 1977): 300-3.

[41] As intellectuals in the new nations rapidly sought to break free from rigid Spanish educational models, and turned to the rest of Europe for literary and artistic forms and ideas, Modernists such as the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío and Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó had similarly encountered Greece much earlier in such a search, in their engagements with French classical and contemporaneous Parnassian literature; see, e.g. Darío's poem 'Divagación' (from the 1896 *Prosas profanas*): 'Amo más que la Grecia de los griegos la Grecia de la Francia' (vv. 41-42). On Henríquez Ureña's introduction of Rodó and his works to Mexico, see Andújar, 'Hellenism and the American Utopia'.

[42] N. Priego, 'Porfirio Díaz, Positivism and "The Scientists": A Reconsideration of the Myth', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 18.2 (2012): 135-150.

[43] Quintanilla, 'Dioniso', 628; N. Miller, *Reinventing Modernity in Latin America: Intellectuals Imagine the Future, 1900-1930* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 113-5; Barrenechea, 'Greek Drama', 258-9; F. Barrenechea, 'Tragic Impostures: Greek tragedy and pre-Hispanic myth in the theatre of Rodolfo Usigli and Salvador Novo', *Classical Receptions* Journal 8.2 (2016): 195.

[44] See, e.g. E. Krauze, *Caudillos culturales en la Revolución Mexicana* (México D.F.: Tusquets, 1999). It is worth noting that many of the accounts about the *Ateneo*'s role in the Mexican Revolution come from *Ateneístas* themselves from their later recollections of the past, such as P. Henríquez Ureña, *Literary Currents in Hispanic America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), 187-8: 'In Mexico, the political revolution of 1910 was preceded by a purely intellectual movement that began around 1907 in the Sociedad de Conferencias, later called the *Ateneo* de

México (1909-1914). The members of this youthful group were as much interested in the problems of literature and philosophy as in the social and political problems of the country. Their most important public activity, besides their lectures, was the organization of a center of cultural diffusion, the first of its kind in the country, called Universidad Popular de México (1912-1920). They attacked positivism, the official philosophy of the last twenty years of the regime of Porfirio Díaz'. In other words, we may be dealing with self-created mythologies; cf. C. Monsiváis, 'Notas sobre la cultural mexicana en el siglo XX' in *Historia General de México*, 321-31. In these self-professed accounts, the ancient Greeks were presented as one of many foreign authors from which the members of the *Ateneo* sought inspiration in their quest for discussing Mexican progress, a list which also included Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Nietzsche; see Henríquez Ureña, *Estudios Mexicanos*, 267 and Miller, *Reinventing Modernity*, 113-4.

[45] In particular, they proposed the creation of a Popular Mexican University, whose purpose was to develop the culture of the people of Mexico, especially that of its working class; see Monsiváis, 'Notas', 321; Miller, *Reinventing Modernity*, 115 and Andújar, 'Hellenism and the American Utopia'.

[46] Later Henríquez Ureña would link the experience of reading the ancient Greeks to a rebirth of the humanities in Mexico; see Andújar, 'Hellenism and the American Utopia'.

[47] Letter dated 2 December 1907, quoted in García Morales *El Ateneo*, 125.

[48] In a letter to Reyes dated 29 January 1908, (Henríquez Ureña & Reyes, *Epistolario Íntimo*, 31-4) Henríquez Ureña discusses reading Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* for the first time.

[49] Henríquez Ureña, *Memorias*, 140: 'la lectura de Platón y del libro de Walter Pater sobre la filosofía platónica me convirteron definitivamente al helenismo'.

[50] This is the earliest engagement with Pater in the Spanish-speaking world: according to Bann (S. Bann (ed.) *The reception of Walter Pater in Europe* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), xxii-iii). Pater is not translated in Spanish until the 1940s, in Spain and Argentina.

[51] According to Evangelista, *British Aestheticism*, 2 this concern with ancient Greece lies 'at the very heart' of Victorian literary aestheticism in all its formulations.

[52] Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas* 2, 19: 'Wilde, Henley, Walter Pater, Arthur Symons, el malogrado y hoy casi olvidado Ernest Christopher Dowson, y otros, crearon en Inglaterra un movimiento artístico paralelo al producido en Francia por los sectarios del decadentismo y del simbolismo.'

[53] Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 2*, 328, García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 80

[54] I can find no earlier reference to Pater. It is also unclear when or how the *Ateneístas* got hold of *Plato and Platonism*; see my footnote 65 below.

[55] P. Henríquez Ureña, *Estudios Griegos de Walter Pater. Traducción y notas de Pedro Henríquez Ureña* (2nd ed.) (Santo Domingo: Cielonaranja, 2008), 7.

[56] García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 95. Zuleta Álvarez, *Pedro Henríquez Ureña*, 51.

[57] Evangelista, *British Aestheticism*, 37. In fact the essays that formed part of *Greek Studies* were assembled after Pater's death by his executor, C. L. Shadwell; see D. Donoghue, *Walter Pater: Lover of Strange Souls* (New York: Knopf, 1995), 160 and Evangelista, *British Aestheticism*, 43.

[58] Pineda Franco, *Geopolíticas*.

[59] Henríquez Ureña, *Walter Pater*, 13.

[60] Walter Pater, *Greek Studies: A Series of Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1895), 166-7: 'But the heart-strings would ache still where the breast had been cut away… As for Antiope, the conscience of her perfidy remained with her, adding the pang of remorse to her own deserting, when King Theseus, with his accustomed bad faith to women, set her, too, aside in turn. Phaedra, the true wife, was there, peeping suspiciously at her arrival; and even as Antiope yielded to her lord's embraces the thought had come that a male child might be the instrument of her anger, and one day judge her cause.'

[61] E.g., as Pater recounts Antiope's birth and abandonment (Pater, *Greek Studies*, 169): 'Courage, child! Everyone must take his share of suffering. Shift not thy body so vehemently. Pain, taken quietly, is easier to bear.'

[62] Pater, *Greek Studies*, 170: 'Was there not with herself the curse of that unsisterly action? and not far from him, the terrible danger of the father's, the step-mother's jealousy, the mockery of those half-brothers to come? Ah! how perilous for happiness the sensibilities which make him so exquisitely happy now!'

[63] See Miller 1999 who carefully charts this development throughout her book.

[64] García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 80.

[65] Vasconcelos, *Ulises criollo*, 310.

[66] R. Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), 253.

[67] Jenkyns, *The Victorians*, 253.

[68] Orrells, 'Pater and Nettleship', 300.

[69] Jenkyns, *The Victorians*, 254.

[70] Donoghue, *Walter Pater*, 161-2.

[71] Donoghue, *Walter Pater*, 163.

[72] Donoghue, *Walter Pater*, 164.

[73] P. Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 6: 1911-1920* ed. M. Mena (vol.3) (Santo Domingo: Cielonaranja, 2014), 266.

[74] Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 6*, 269.

[75] Henríquez Ureña , *Obras Completas 6*, 324: 'el último *renacentista'*.

[76] Quoted in Quintanilla, 'Dioniso', 631.

[77] Andújar, 'Hellenism and the American Utopia'.

[78] A. Díaz Quiñones, *Sobre los principios: los intelectuales caribeños y la tradición* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2005), 230.

[79] The first Latin American adaptation of a classical tragedy appears to have been Argentine Juan Cruz Varela's *Dido* (1823), which dramatizes in hendecasyllables Book 4 of Virgil's *Aeneid;* See K. P. Nikoloutsos, 'Introduction,' *Reception of Greek and Roman Drama in Latin America,* special edition of *Romance Quarterly* 59 (2012): 1-5. In the latter half of the nineteenth century there were a few European operas on classical subjects that toured in in Mexico City, see Barrenechea, 'Greek Drama'.

[80] For an account of the evening and the events that led to it, see Quintanilla 'Dioniso'.

[81] Henríquez Ureña sent a signed copy of this monograph to Gilbert Murray; this copy is now in circulation in the British Library.

[82] See R. Andújar, 'Revolutionizing Greek Tragedy in Cuba: Virgilio Piñera's *Electra Garrigó*' in *Greek Drama in the Americas*, 361-79; R. Pianacci, *Antígona: una tragedia latinoamericana* (Irvine, CA: Ediciones de GESTOS, 2008); N. Kason Poulson, 'In Defense of the Dead: *Antígona furiosa*, by Griselda Gambaro', *Romance Quarterly* 59.1 (2012): 48-54.

[83] E. Miranda Cancela, 'Pedro Henríquez Ureña y el mundo griego: *El nacimiento de Dionisos*', *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí* 1 (1988): 65-78 is the only treatment of the work.

[84] A. Lesky, trans. M. Dillon, *Greek Tragic Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 13-15; T. B. L. Webster, 'Greek Tragedy' in *Fifty Years (And Twelve) of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), 97-100.

[85] According to Quintanilla, 'Dioniso', the party was held at the home of Ignacio Reyes.

[86] In the play's 'justification' he accounts for this 'happy ending' of the play, citing Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and *Eumenides*, Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Philoctetes*, as well as Euripides' *Ion*, *Helen*, *Iphigenia at Tauris* and *Alcestis*: P. Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 1: Teatro – Poesía – Cuento*, ed. M. Mena (Santo Domingo: Cielonaranja, 2014), 25.

[87] To engage with a fragmentary author such as Phrynichus is extremely difficult, given that we know very little beyond the nine play titles the sparse fragments that survive. Most of what is known about the ancient playwright comes from the parody in Aristophanes' *Wasps* 1476-1537 and the *Suda*, which provides some additional basic information regarding his victories. Any information beyond these titles is speculative; see Lesky, *Greek Tragic Poetry*, 32-36; H. Lloyd-Jones, 'Problems of Early Greek Tragedy: Pratinas and Phrynichus', in *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy: The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990): 225-237; M. Wright, *The Lost Plays of Greek Tragedy Vol. 1.: Neglected Authors* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 17-27, 208-10. It appears, however, that Phrynichus wrote a play about Actaeon, who was the son of Autonoe, sister to Semele and

daughter of Cadmus – it therefore may have featured Semele, cf. Lloyd-Jones, 'Problems', 231-2.

[88] Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 1*, 23.

[89] Pater, *Greek Studies*, 17-18.

[90] D. D. Leitao, *The Pregnant Male as Myth and Metaphor in Classical Greek Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 59-63, offers a summary of ancient sources both literary and artistic on thigh birth of Dionysus.

[91] In a letter dated 31 January 1908 Henríquez Ureña even recommends it to Alfonso Reyes (Henríquez Ureña & Reyes, *Epistolario Íntimo,* 37).

[92] In fact both also mention Thebes in close proximity to 'vengo' ('I come'), in the same manner as Euripides' *Bacchae* 1 (**Ἥκω** Διὸς παῖς τήνδε **Θηβαίαν** χθόνα / **I**, son of Zeus, **come** to this land of **Thebes**): Semele: '**Vengo**, mujeres de **Tebas**, del palacio en donde fui otro tiempo hija dilecta y soy ahora recibida con ceño adusto' (Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 1*, 15) and Dionisos: '**Vengo** tan sólo a anunciaros mi reinado; **Tebas**, patria de mi madre muerta, será la primera ciudad helena que conozca mi culto' (Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 1*, 41).

[93] This is of course conveniently ignoring Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*.

[94] E.g. his 1917 master's thesis at the University of Minnesota, *The Irregular Stanza in the Spanish Poetry of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, or his 1920 publication *La versificación irregular en la poesía castellana* (*Irregular Versification in Spanish poetry*); cf. Reyes, 'Encuentros', 57-8.

[95] Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 1*, 26. Places similarly receive epithets, see e.g. 41: 'la Lidia rica en oro y en la Frigia famosa por sus corceles' ('Gold-rich Lydia and in Phrygia, famous for its steeds').

[96] This was the understanding at the time; see A. M. Dale, 'Stasimon and hyporcheme', *Eranos* 48 (1950): 14-20. His 'justification' also makes reference to the fact that the ancient chorus used singular and plural pronouns rather arbitrarily: Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 1*, 24.

[97] E.g. Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 1*, 35: Cadmus: 'con golpes hiero mi pecho, meso con desesperación mis cabellos.'

[98] cf. Aeschulus, *Agamemnon* 121 = 138 = 159 : αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

[99] Henriquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 1*, 43-4.

[100] A. Ford, 'A Song to Match My Song: Lyric Doubling in Euripides' *Helen*', in *Allusion, Authority, and Truth: Critical Perspectives on Greek Poetic and Rhetorical Praxis*, ed. P. Mitsis and C. Tsagalis (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010): 283-302.

[101] E.g. in a 1903 essay on D'Annunzio (Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 2,* 14), or in a 1905 essay partly on Oscar Wilde (Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 2,* 20).

[102] Henríquez Ureña, *Estudios Mexicanos*, 247: 'Caso recorrió toda la filosofía de Nietzsche'.

[103] Henríquez Ureña, *Obras Completas 2,* 102-8.

[104] Henríquez Ureña & Reyes, *Epistolario Íntimo*, 83, letter dated 11 January 1909: 'Sobre el Coro griego, te recomiendo los capítulos 7 y 8 de "El Origen de la tragedia". De toda aquella metafísica oscilante se puede sacar algo. En realidad, "El origen de la tragedia" peca porque es una obra no original, sino tejida con fraseología forzada sobre temas de Schopenhauer, Hegel, y algunas ideas de Schiller, Gugust, Wilhelm Schlegel, Otfried Muller, Curtius, Lessing y Coleridge.'

[106] 'Es lo más hermoso que ha salido de la pluma de Ud. (a lo menos entre lo que yo conozco), y es una de las cosas más bellas de la nueva literatura hispanoamericana',

letter to Henríquez Ureña dated 12 May 1910, quoted in J. J. de Lara, *Pedro Henríquez Ureña, su vida y su obra* (Santo Domingo: Universidad Nacional Pedro Henríquez Ureña, 1975), 39.

[107] British Library General Reference Collection 11729.ee.18. It is not certain whether Murray read the work before he donated it.

[108] In this manner he is a crucial precedent for Alfonso Reyes, who, according to Conn (R. Conn, *The Politics of Philology: Alfonso Reyes and the Invention of the Latin American Literary Tradition* (Lewisburg, P.A.: Bucknell University Press, 2002) 14), wished to create 'an utopian Mexican and Latin American Republic of Letters, a Weimar, of sorts'. See also García Morales, *El Ateneo*, 186: who discusses this international intellectual elite in terms of Platonic symposia.

[109] N. Goldschmidt, 'Absent Presence: *pater Ennius* in Renaissance Europe', *Classical Receptions Journal* 4.1 (2012): 1-19.

[110] Miller, *Reinventing Modernity*, 109.

[111] S. Pitol, *De la realidad a la literatura* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica de España, 2002), 81.